1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

day's water he receives, to work a day repairing the system after the heavy rains. Farmers who have each but a half-day's water pair off and draw lots to see which will work, since no one is allowed to work half a day only.

At the arrival of the grape-picking season, all the poor families who have no vines and the rich landowners who have many, assemble in the village mosque, on a Sunday, chosen for this occasion because it is considered a lucky day for grapes and supposed to be immune from thunderstorms. Before this date no one may pick grapes. The local administrative council, which has summoned the families now present before it, assigns to each rich family a poor one, all members of which are to help the vine owners. The aides thus chosen assist the others in picking their grapes, washing them in *fathis* ash and water, and in setting them out to dry. No group may begin picking until all assignments have been made. After the work is done and the raisins have been dried, the rich family gives its helpers a generous quantity of the raisins. There is no set rule dictating how much shall be given, but the families benefiting from this form of charity seldom have cause to complain. If after the allotment of families there are some poor ones still remaining, the council sets them to work picking the grapes which are the property of the local mosque or saint's tomb. The workers who pick and cure these grapes are given a fourth of the product.

All the olive trees in a village, although owned by a number of different individuals and by the mosque or by a saint's tomb, are located together on the banks of the nearest stream, below the lowest terrace. The shaded area beneath the trees is a place for various types of gatherings, one of which is directly concerned with the trees themselves. When the olives are ripening and windfalls begin to collect on the ground beneath the trees, the administrative council sets the first Friday of this season as the official day for gathering them. Early in the morning most of the families, especially the poor ones, come to the olive grove and await the arrival of the council members. The latter give the signal to start, upon which the people rush under the trees and gather up the windfalls. They are not allowed to touch any olives on the trees or to start before the signal is given.

Each olive tree owner's name is written on a list in the possession of the *adl*, an officer comparable to a town clerk. A farmer is allowed to use the grinder and press, which are communally owned, only when his turn has come around. He may employ it only for a certain number of days, depending on the amount of olives his trees are capable of producing. In this way he is prevented from idling or wasting his time at the press. During the time he is there, he is required to give one cup of oil each day to each of the following:

1. The *fkih*, who keeps half of it for his personal use and saves the rest for the lamp in the mosque. This is called the cup of the mosque.
2. The *mokaddem*, or caretaker, of the mosque, who collects a cup to be sold or stored, the proceeds to be reserved for hospitality, cartridges for the village, and fines imposed upon the whole village. This is called the cup of the grinding wheel.
3. The students in the local primary school, who collect a cup which they sell or consume as food. This is called the cup of the students.
4. If there is a saint's tomb in the territory of the village, a fourth cup must be given it for its lamp.

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CHAPTER IX

PUBLIC BUILDINGS AND PUBLIC INSTRUCTION

MOSQUES AND SAINTS' TOMBS

346 THERE are three types of building which serve both social and religious purposes: the *thamsyitha n jkhothbath*, or cantonal mosque,[1] the *thamsajoth*, or village mosque,[2] and the *amrabi* (plural *imrabten*) or saint's tomb.[3]

The first, the cantonal mosque, is a large edifice, common to the whole *canton*, and to it come all the people of the *canton* for worship. It can be readily distinguished from lesser mosques by the fact that it bears a flag, green in the morning and white in the afternoon.

The second is the mosque of the *bone*, and there is one for each *bone* in the *canton*.

764 The third, the saint's tomb, may be a structure of some magnitude, a mere pile of stones,
778 or simply an unmarked but nevertheless well-known place. It is supposed to be the grave of a saint, although often it is merely some place noted for the possession of some unusual natural feature, such as a large boulder, a spring, or a clump of trees, revered long before the advent of Islam. Whether it be a definite building, a marker, or merely a place, in any case it fulfills a definite function.

358 In each of these three types of religious edifice there is one man who has been appointed
346 to take care of it, the *mokaddem* (plural *mokaddemin*) or "warden,"[4] who may be a man of learning or, in some cases, illiterate. He is the janitor and general caretaker. He brushes the floor, sees that the mats on them are in good repair, hoists the flag on the cantonal mosque, and occasionally substitutes as muezzin for the incumbent of this mosque.

428 The mosques and saints' tombs acquire land in a number of ways. When a man dies
794 childless, and is displeased with his wife for having borne him no sons, or for some other reason, he may will a share of his land to the cantonal or village mosque or to a local saint's tomb. If he has sons but is not pleased with them, he may leave a share of his property to a mosque or tomb and the rest to his children.

[764] If, when about to die, he wishes to be buried within the mosque, he may buy his burial place with land to be given the mosque after his death. In this way he is interred under the floor of one of the rooms, and the warden has charge of the property so willed.

794 The warden of each public edifice has charge of the land belonging to it, and receives a
358 portion of the produce. He does the farming on the land and cares for the trees, but if there is too much for him to do the village council enlists poor people to work with him, as previously related.

794 Any mosque, be it of the *canton* or merely of the *bone*, and any saint's tomb capable of
485 providing shelter, serves as a free hotel for Riffians travelling from tribe to tribe. Lay

[1] From the Arabic *masjida el khutba*, meaning the "mosque of the Friday sermon."

[2] Likewise from *masjida*, and meaning literally "mosque."

[3] From the Arabic *mura'bat*. This word means either "living saint" or "dead saint"; the meaning given applies to the deceased variety and to the superstructure erected over his remains.

[4] This Arabic word is also employed to designate the "moderator" of the village council, as well as the "moderator" of the council of the great. See p. 96.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

travellers go to both types of mosque but students prefer the larger structure, since in it they can spend the time of their visit in receiving instruction.

The prospective guests are conducted to the mosque by the first native of the *bone* or *canton* who sees them, unless they come from a place at war with the local group. In the old days, Arabs were not always as hospitably received as were Berbers, although Arabs seldom came. Jews and Christians, of course, almost never appeared, so that the problem of their entertainment seldom arose. The former would have been received by a volley of stones, and the latter by bullets.

The building in which the guest is received has a special room set aside for entertainment, beside the room in which the Friday sermon takes place or prayers are made, and the room in which school is held. In the saint's tomb there are usually two rooms, that intended for entertainment and that in which the saint's remains are buried. A saint's tomb is considered sanctuary, and anyone fleeing from murder may enter and be immune from violence until such time as he shall depart. Many mosques, of both types, are saint's tombs as well; most of them are associated with deceased celebrities.

The village mosque is used for the following purposes: for private prayer by individuals; for meetings of the village council; as a general lounging place and social center, especially for the old men; as a school, in which the pupils sleep during vacations; and as a guest house.

The cantonal mosque is used as a place of prayer by *bones* in daily rotation, as related in the discussion of the duties of the village council;[1] as a school of higher learning and a dormitory for students; as a guest house; and as the common place of worship on Fridays, when the head of this mosque delivers a sermon in the morning.

The saint's tomb is used as sanctuary by fugitives; as a social center for women; and as a place to which pilgrimages are made for imbibing some of the emanation of the saint, supposedly beneficial for specific ailments or requirements. So many of the mosques contain saintly remains that the uses just described apply to most of them as well.

EDUCATION

The older men of each *bone* informally decide on a *fkih*, (plural *fuḳaha'*) or "schoolmaster,"[2] to teach the boys in the village mosque. They select some man of their village or a stranger, more frequently the latter. He must be a man of considerable ability in writing and with a fair knowledge of the Koran. He stands in front of the mosque at sunrise and at noon to call the pupils.

School is held from sunrise (*sba*) to ten o'clock (*d-har*), and from noon (*d-hor*) to about four o'clock (*asr*). The pupils have Thursday afternoons and Fridays off. They have as vacations twenty days at *aid el kebir*, twenty at *aid es sghir*, ten days at *'ashor*, and a week at *haggus*.

The *bone* pays the schoolmaster in barley, raisins, and oil. The amount of each commodity given per year is set in advance. An average salary would be 100 *mudd*[3] of barley,

[1] See p. 100.

[2] This title is applied to two different officials, between whom a distinction should be made, despite the fact that the word *fkih* is a somewhat familiar one to European readers.

[3] The *mudd* is a measure of both volume and weight, common in all of Morocco. Its value varies from place to place. In Gzennaya it is equivalent to 16 kilos, in Beni Urriaghel 40, in Beni Tusin 13, in Beni Amart 35, and in Beni Said 30.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

875 2 or 3 measures (18 liters each) of oil, 20 to 25 *mudd* of raisins, and two pounds or thereabouts of butter from each adult man possessing one or more milch cows.

The pupils are supposed to bring money with them on the last day before the vacation; this is for the schoolmaster. Each pupil brings half a dollar at *aid el kebir*, a quarter of a dollar at *aid es sghir*, ten *soldi* (two *grush*) at *'ashor*, and fifteen *soldi* (three *grush*) at *el mulud*. At *haggus* the schoolmaster does not collect any money, but the families of the children send him food consisting of chickens, bowls of honey and butter, and various cooked dishes.

[291 872 During the vacations all the pupils sleep in the village mosque. They wear no jellabas, but dress in clean new shirts girded with Taghruthi belts of many colors. They go around in a group from house to house in the *bone* and in all the *bones* of the *canton*, and sit in each house to recite a chapter of the Koran. When they have finished, the mistress of the house gives them eggs, chickens, and other foodstuffs. Later they cook these things in the mosque and feast and disport themselves all night. They play games and often play at being a council, a sultan and his court, or a judge with plaintiffs and defendants.

875 ●794 The *fkih* of the cantonal mosque, the "preceptor," [1] is appointed by the council of the great. When he dies, moves, or for some other reason ceases to be preceptor, they appoint another. He may be a stranger or a native of the *canton*. He is paid annually three to four hundred *mudd* of barley, and butter, oil, and other products in proportion. The preceptor has charge of the land belonging to the cantonal mosque and works it with the warden, or hires share-laborers to work it, taking one half the produce and the mosque receiving half. He thus controls a considerable income.

872 574 431 When the pupils of the *bone* have learned the Koran by heart, they graduate and go to the cantonal mosque. Graduation is called *er kheithmith*, and is also frequently termed "the wedding of the sixty *haiseb*," the sections of the Koran. It does not occur at any fixed time of year; whenever the student has fulfilled the requirements to the satisfaction of the preceptor of the cantonal mosque he is admitted. The graduation is accompanied by a feast given in the student's honor, attended by his family, invited guests, and fellow students. His father sacrifices a cow, some meat from which is eaten. *Seksu* and honey are likewise eaten upon this occasion. The guests usually bring gifts with them. Gifts, in the Rif, usually consist of edibles, and especially things which cost money, such as sugar and tea. Candles are also in this category.

871 This system of education is widespread, and is found in all the sedentary tribes. Among the nomadic tribes only wealthy men send their children to school, which consists of a special tent occupied by a schoolmaster and moved, when the camp moves, by different men in rotation.

[212 789] In the cantonal mosque the students [2] learn to improve their writing, since many of them fail to learn to write well in the village mosque, where most attention is paid to memorizing the Koran. In the cantonal mosque they also learn magic, studying obscure books and compiling from the Koran and from other sources charts to be used as lexicons in magic.

[1] So translated to distinguish this *fkih* from the schoolmaster, and partly because the preceptor is a religious teacher as well as an educator.

[2] Students who have graduated from the village mosque are called *taleb* (plural *tolba*). Since in the text the pupils attending the village mosque have in every case been specified as such, there is no need for qualification of the word *student* as used in translation of *taleb*.

1: Coon E-5 (1926-1927) 1931 MX3 Rif MX3

CHAPTER XII

RELIGION

771 RIFFIAN religion, although of course officially Islam, is a blend of that faith with old heathen ideas, and with factors apparently Christian and Jewish, some of which may antedate the arrival of Islam. The kings of Nekor were rigid adherents to the Malekite rite,[1] and the Islam of the Riffians from that time to this has been officially orthodox.

782 The visible practice of orthodox religion consists in the sending by each *bone* of twenty-
794 five men on a set day each week to the cantonal mosque to pray, and in public attendance of Friday sermons there. The preceptor delivers this sermon in the morning, standing before the worshippers and leaning on a cane. He criticises local happenings and gives out the agricultural forecast for the week, besides expounding the Koran.

Most of the men of the *canton* who are married and of serious purpose attend this service. Old women also attend, sitting in a separate room, where they can hear but cannot be seen. Young women do not go, and indeed seldom take the trouble to pray, since religion is almost wholly a masculine concern. When they do pray they do it at home. As an outlet of religious energy, or more often as a holiday excursion, they take food to the saint's tomb and eat it there with their children. Students, apparently immune to the prohibition against men's going to the tomb, do so and are given food by the women. Women also go to cemeteries on Fridays, and enjoy themselves despite their surroundings.

773 A common legend prevalent in many parts of Morocco is that after the Christians have had their way with the Muslimin for a certain length of time, Sidna Ali will come and smite them with the sword. After this Sidna Aissa, or Jesus, will appear and convert the Christians to Islam.

This legend is narrated in the Jebala, where a special intensity is given to the part of Jesus in the drama. The Jebalans claim that when Sidna Aissa comes wolves will lie down with lambs, and that stones, streams, and roads will speak. Ali, who is said by the Jebalans to have been scab-headed, and Jesus, who is probably their most important religious personage, especially in Taghzuth, are the only two historical characters reputed not to have died, but to be living on, awaiting return to earth. This is not said of the Prophet, whose personality hovers in the background as the legitimate but unemphasized pivot of the religion.

At Taghzuth I was told the stories of Jonah and the whale, and the Flood. In the latter legend, the ark was made to land at Tangier. This belief is also held in the Rif. A variant version popular there is that in the beginning of time Banu Adam (a collective name meaning "Children of Adam," or "mankind," but here used to denote an individual) saw that a flood was coming and built a boat, taking into it his wife, his daughter, his dog, his cat, his donkey, and seven men. When the flood was over the boat landed on a mountain. At that time the seven men began quarrelling over Banu Adam's daughter, since each of them

[1] See p. 32.

592
593 The mother has the right to punish her children, but cannot wound them.

[562] Sons enjoy a preferential situation within the family; they help their father in agricultural tasks and in defense of the hearth and patrimony. They watch over the women of the house. Those of age
883
[785] (i.e. who have reached puberty)[46] start to fast during the month of Ramadan, as well as starting to plow and harvest the crops, after they have become too old to pasture goats. On reaching puberty, also, sons may spend nights away from home or be absent for periods of time.
[584] They do not own property. If a son should reject the matrimonial proposition (put to him by his father) he must look for the bride-price (himself), telling his father of this obligation. He may leave his home without having to renounce his inheritance. After marriage,
885
593 although living in his father's house, he builds a bread-oven in
[591] order to separate his meals from those of his father. He is then a contributor (apart from his father, who generally hands land over to him to work, but who is not obliged to give him his share of the
[594] inheritance.) He pays his fines, and contributes his turn to the fqih's barley allotment, and forms a separate nubth on his own.
883 On reaching puberty, he attends the mosque and goes to markets and
885 weddings; when he marries, he begins to take part in the council
623 meetings to defend his rights; he enters a liff[47]; and sometimes he
616
794 becomes a member of a religious brotherhood[48].
575 Sons and daughters are their father's property. A divorced
593 wife, even though nursing a child, cannot take it with her; and there
586 have been cases in which her own father has returned her children to her husband.

621 today for finding out the volume of a social group is the list of
623 nubath or turns to provide food for the fqih. It is more constant
571 than an enumeration of houses or guns[73] or persons, which is more subject to variation. But it must also be remembered that there are two kinds of turns: those based on hearths, and those based on plows and animals to pull them. In some areas, one type is used, and in
621 others, the other.....The notion, however, of the Friday mosque as
623 a defining and anchoring characteristic of the jma'th is not bad, and
571 794 as such, it may be compared to the Spanish parish (parroqu'a)--but
[613] only in the sense of members of different dharfiqin coming to prayer. This applies even if the mosque in question serves only as an individual place of prayer for a well-to-do family, and not as a common temple.[74]

623 The etymological definition of jma'th, "meeting, reunion, convocation" is in itself insufficient also, as it is too general.

2) Function of the Jma'th (understood again as council): Economic. It regulates services in common, i.e. use of water, pasture land, ghabth (brushwood) and communal lands, and, by extension, social relations (hospitality, benefits) and spiritual relations (funeral
623 services). Custom which is privately initiated in the kin group now
671 becomes public by acting as a yardstick in such relationships, and it is in the qanuns[75] of the jma'ths where the first rudiments of Rifian
[613] customary law appear. This law is both more elevated and more humane than that of the dharfiqth, which is purely one of reprisal.

621 In most jma'ths, industry and specialization is represented only
623 by a master blacksmith, aside from women who make pottery by hand;
463 on the other hand, in the "fraction" (clan or subolan) these
326 necessities are complemented.
323

621 628 [681] [794] These jma'ths, the internal lives of which were regulated by the custom governing the original mountain jma'th, continued as tributaries of the latter[133], enjoying the benefits of such a status (participation in the collection of fines, contributions to the fqih)[134] until, as we have seen, the new nucleus, beginning to stand out more and more as a result of its growth, importance and distance from the parent jma'th, succeeded in emancipating itself from the latter through its own discords and ambitions.[135]

621 But it is difficult to determine at precisely what moment the new jma'th came of age, as it is to determining everything else, even including finding out the designations in nomenclature of its representatives. This designation is not that of amin, as among the Kabyles of Algeria, a word which, taken over from Arabic, is one which does not permit a confusion of its administrative significance, an individual function, with that of the jma'th, which has a collective mqaddim, a term also adopted from Arabic and employed by certain Berber groups in the Western Atlas, for the personage of the mqaddim also has that function as well as the inadmission of that of the shaikh, which more than one person in Aith Waryaghar attributes to himself and which figures even in documents. These terms, however, do not demonstrate any more than the anarchy which the people have attained, and the forgetting of their own racial (sic!) characteristics[136]; as such words among Rifians can have no meaning nor can they be given any importance greater than those of "colonel" and "doctor" in the South American republics. These are strange nicknames (sic), for to the Rifian, as to any Berber, they say nothing if they are to be considered

621 192 621 [646] [182]

619 The ("holy" clan of the) Asht 'Aru 'Aisa are descended from
613 Sidi Musa bin Mshish[163], the brother of one of the "poles" of Western
614 Islam, Sidi 'Abd al-Salam bin Mshish, who is buried in the Jbil 'Alam, in the Bni 'Arus of the Jbala. Sidi Musa is buried among the Khmid(?) (unidentifiable).

The principal idea to be extracted from the foregoing is the following: around a principal nucleus consisting of Asht 'Asim, Imzdurar and Asht Marar[164], clans which are known to and recognized by all the Igzinnayen, there came over the course of time an infinite number of lineages originating from very diverse points of northern Morocco; and these lineages intermingled with the above. Their motives for so doing varied between hunger and war. They were brought to the Rif either because there was no room for them elsewhere or because the possibilities of living well there attracted them.....It is probably necessary to look for their origins in regions which are particularly barren and unproductive, such as the Khuld of Huwwara or the northern part of the Angad Plain, in the case of elements from the Aith Bu Yihyi; the Tafrata for the Ahl Rashida, the clayey hills of Mtalsa, and, in general, all the places more or less bordering the Mulwiya River, which, even if they are by no means paradises, are at least hospitable (sic)[165].

794 3) Qur'anic Instruction: --This is organized in exactly the
871 same way as it is among the Rifian tribes in the Spanish Zone, and is largely beyond the control of the Administration....There is
[993] usually a school in each village, the fqih of which is paid annually and in kind by its inhabitants. Instruction is carried out almost

794 871 completely independently of the French authorities, and is done as a rule in areas which generally lack the most elementary conditions of hygiene and sanitation; and pedagogical procedures are very antiquated and inefficacious, and are limited to instruction of the Qur'an....

[872] [873] Almost all the schools are of "primary instruction", and those dedicated to "secondary instruction" are few and far between[166]. Some

[829] [876] students cross the border to study in the Axt Tuzin, Aith Waryaghar and Thimsaman, not because the schools in those tribes are better, but because the Rifians believe a youth studies better if he is away from his family...The students, or imhadaren, eat the ma'ruf[167], and their teachers generally are given honoraria in kind.

692 4) Judiciary Organization:--There is a qadi in Aknul who serves all of the Igzinnayen, and he holds court every Tuesday, which is market day in Aknul, and once a month in Tizi Usli (market day on Mondays) and in Buridh (market day on Wednesdays)...

312 103 5) Water Points:--The area which is richest in springs is that of Jibarna, in the Asht r-Udha, in which the following springs are to be found: 'Ain Ta'amt, 'Ain bin Husain, 'Ain Khannus, 'Ain Bu Twilal, 'Ain Rahab, 'Ain Ulad bin 'Amar, and 'Ain Dar Qa'id Midbuh. In the Asht Mhand, there are two large springs in 'Ain 'Allal; and in Asht Marar, there are 'Ain Barda, 'Ain Fargugen, 'Ain Hmid, 'Ain Darduren, 'Ain Marja, and 'Ain Tassa[168].

619 [631] 6) Political Situation and Way of Life:--This tribe never formed part of any confederation, and in spite of the feuds to which we have referred above, it has always maintained its geographical and organizational unity. Today it may be said that there are no ostensible

000 47--An individual does not, sensu stricto, enter a liff on his own,
[613] but is rather affiliated automatically with the liff or wider alliance to which his lineage belongs, although he may later switch his allegiance to fracture lineage unity. (This is not uncommon.)

[191] 48--The number of Rifians who are adherents to Muslim religious brotherhoods (a wide-spread phenomenon in other parts of Morocco) is not large, although it has remained fairly constant even after Moroccan independence and the wane of the fraternities' influence on the Moroccan political scene. For a discussion of the role of [113] brotherhoods in Morocco, see F. S. Vidal, "Religious Brotherhoods and Moroccan Politics", Middle East Journal, 1950. ...The most important brotherhood in the Central Rif is the Darqawa, with adepts [668] in the Aith Waryaghar, Aith 'Ammarth and Igzinnayen; it is said that 'Abd al-Krim himself was a member of this order originally, but that on his rise to power he suppressed all brotherhood activities in a clean sweep in order to minimize the possibility of their turning against him. Other orders include the 'Alawiyin, among some of the mountain segments of the Aith Waryaghar, and the Tijaniyin and Nasiriyin in the Igzinnayen.

562 49--Here again Blanco is in error, as habus has nothing to do with the
428 return to her father's house of a divorced woman. Habus is a religi-
114 ouse or charitable endowment, and in Morocco it usually takes the
423 form of a property donation to a religious institution, such as a
[794] mosque or a saint's tomb. The word implies, always, property which has been set aside; and although Rifians do not admit any notion of "private habus" in theory, they do so in practice. In the Central Atlas, for example, a man who is afraid that his sons will sell his land may put it in a state of habus, as it were, to prevent them from doing so; and while such a notion is unthinkable to Rifians, it is equally unthinkable that a son would sell his father's patrimony! Thus the idea of habus is intimately linked with that of indivision, and, as such, it has a bearing on the position of women with respect to inheritance rules. Although women theoretically inherit both real and movable property, their share almost invariably remains, in practice, in the hands of their fathers or brothers when they marry. Rifians say that it is perfectly permissible for a married women to come back to her father's house and cultivate her property; but that this is an evasion is readily seen from the fact that in Morocco it is men and not women who cultivate property! Thus, in effect, the "men's habus", of a private rather than a religious nature, safeguards a daughter's share of the inheritance--for the sons! For a discussion [113] of this problem in the Sus and Anti-Atlas, see Andre Adam, "Les Origines Ethniques de la Population Marocaine Musulmane de Casablanca", in Anthony F. C. Wallace, Ed., Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, Phildelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960, pp. 371-76 (our reference to p. 372). Adam refers to this problem within the context of temporary emigration of small grocery-store keepers from the Anti-Atlas to Casablanca.

huge tribe like the Aith Waryaghar possessed its own qanun, whereas a small tribe like the Aith Siddat in the Sanhaja Srir had only one qanun for the lot of them.

85--The idea which Blanco conveys here, i.e. that the whole Rif is in the last analysis split into two opposed liffs, is completely exaggerated. It is certainly true that each Rifian tribe is split more or less down the middle and contains two hostile factions, which are not always equal in size; but, on the outside, each of these tends to be allied only with that combination of clans in the next tribe which is politically favorable to it. The system thus tends to appear like a series of interlocking concentric circles rather than like a chessboard, as in the Western High Atlas and Anti-Atlas, if Montagne, op. cit., 1930, is correct. (More recently, however, some reservations have been recorded by Jacques Berque on the overall validity of Montagne's liff theory: vide J. Berque, Structures Sociales du Haut Atlas, Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1955, pp. 42 sq.) A further difference is the size factor: in the Rif, far larger blocs of man-units are involved in each alliance than in the Western Atlas, though the territory encompassed may in fact be much smaller.

86--This is true among the Berbers of the Middle and Central Atlases, who have a very complex system of election of chiefs, but not for those of the Rif, where headmanship and chieftainship have always been a "dog-eat-dog" proposition, and where a councilmember attended council meetings until he was murdered.

87--This kind of legal terminology has always been in vogue in French and Spanish monographs and administrative reports about Berbers. To be sure, it describes the situation with reasonable accuracy, but in our view tends to put it far too neatly into a Western conceptual straitjacket.

88--The fqih has nothing to do with habus property, which was looked after by the mqaddim n-tmzidha or caretaker of the mosque, and ultimately still is, on the local level, although at the provincial level the ndzir l-ahbas or habus administrator, has fulfilled this function since protectorate times.

89--The functions of a talib and those of a fqih are, in the Rif, almost interchangeable; indeed, the plural form of fqih, to most Rifians, is tulba. Technically speaking, a fqih is a teacher in a mosque, while a talib is a sort of post-graduate student, a "seeker after (Koranic) knowledge"; but the experience and abilities of the two are just about the same. Both are called upon to write out charms of all kinds, etc., and both are always addressed by the term Si ("Mr."), followed by their names, e.g. Si Muhammad, Si Mhand, Si 'Ammar, Si Hmid, in recognition of their (relative) literacy in Arabic.

90--To our knowledge, each man who had them kept his own arms and ammunition in his house. A mosque, after all, is a house of peace, not an arsenal!

621
423 11) Estate: The rural estate must be considered as being formed by the funds and property which the members of the jma'th looked after and which are mentioned in Section (5) above, and those which they used in common, such as lands and fruit trees, water, brushwood, pasturage, etc., (all) comprising the patrimony of the jma'th, given the fact that all of these were administered freely by the latter, and that they originated in it and invested in it, although toward different means and ends, as we shall try to show.

794
793 a) Worship: The attentions to worship, in any tribe, presented two aspects which were cared for in different ways. One was that regarding all pertaining to the mosque as a building, dhamzyidha (construction, repairs and maintenance), and the other was that of the personage who officiated within it: the fqih. The re-
[423] sources on which both depended had the same origin: the intangible patrimony of the mosque formed by voluntary donations of well-to-do and pious individuals, consisting of lands and fruit trees, the working of which through leasing and the acquisition of graves in the vicinity of the mosque constituted its income.

794
[429] The administration of these properties was the job of a lay member of the community, who was nominated by it and to which he
[251] had to account. The storeroom for grain was the ghurfa (Rif. ghwarfth), the second story, or any other room of the dhamzyidha or mosque, the key of which was kept by the mqaddim just mentioned, while the fiqh was its guard.

427
241
621 When plowing-time arrived, the patrimony was leased at a meeting of the jma'th, and when it was time for the harvest, each

A, [See p. 183--Analyst]

427 241 621 person took to the storeroom the share of grain which had been allotted to him.

The fqih was contracted and paid through this share of 621 623 grain. The mqaddim's job was gratuitous and was reduced to the ac- 465 793 622 quisition of mats, lighting, buckets, brooms, small repairs, the storing of the harvest and the payment of the fqih, with due notice 794 623 621 613 given to the jma'th. For other expenses, such as additions and improvements on the building, etc., there had to be prior agreement on the part of the jma'th, i.e. acceptance of these matters by the various lineage heads.

From this simple mechanism and the character of these 794 423 properties resulted their scrupulous and austere administration by lay tribesmen (author's italics), which any other procedure would have been hard put to surpass. The result was that not only were the summary needs of this sort, today unsettled, catered to, but that it was rare to find a mosque which did not possess surplus stores good for five or six years. Hence this constituted a true estate, a localistic tie which everyone voluntarily tried to improve and which today it is possible that we (i.e. the Spanish administration) have disrupted.

It has been said that our (i.e. the Spanish) occupation 423 794 and action have forced the discovery and have focused upon habus 177 (religious and/or charitable endowment) properties which were either hidden or were on the point of disappearance. In the (tribal) countryside, this is either an error or an infantilism. Not only have we (the administration) discovered nothing of the sort, but we have confused things a great deal, as anyone who reads this paper, or rather, anyone

423 interested in doing field research may see. What happened was that the
794 jma'ath, given their natural lack of confidence and their fear of our
171 innocent decrees, disclosed to us a part (of what had happened), re-
[621] serving for themselves exactly what was needed in order to assure themselves, in the worst cases, of the maintenance of worship and the dhamzyidha, the social and religious link.

621 With this estate, with this "bank", the poor jma'ath,
423 in their hazardous existence, were able to save themselves in hard
794 times, either in times of famine or drought, with advances of grain, or in times of violence, with advances of fines, muna-s (food) to harka-s in transit, acquisition of arms and ammunition, etc.

423 With the new centralizing system of a shocking and
794 unanimous complaint, there is no rural mosque which is looked after; the fiscalization of accounts does not have that (degree of) efficiency; and, outside of its bureaucracy, the profits may only be revealed in the ostentatious and less accommodating urban mosques, given that if the latter were nests of preachers, and loafers, and rebels, the former acted as places of asylum, banks, storehouses, councils, clubs and schools. But the worst is that such a procedure mocks the will of the donor and falsifies management of the donation, for the property which the devout and rustic tribesman turned over were destined for lay administration and for the profit of his humble dhamzyidha, and with it for his family and for the small social nucleus within which his life developed. It was not in order to cover up the leaks of the mosque, whether large or small, nor to enlighten any urban mulay, whose surplus resources, religiosity and the prodigality of whose adherents could

423 never be made use of through such modest donations, so exact was the
794 objective for which they were turned over. And today they are obliged to be substituted by new constructions, as already we are finding instances in which the tribesmen are obliged to use part of their communal property in order to cover their minimal religious needs.

The traditional tribesman, a localistic and primitive soul, could never dream that his generous gesture and the fruit of his labor would be converted into utilization for and the beautifying of the vampire city, of that city which he knows only through its derisive attitude toward him and its desire to cheat him.[12]

651 b) Self-Taxation: This category was fulfilled in the jma'th
621 through other classes of property, such as religious (properties), through voluntary contributions and through alms.

The 'ashur (Rif. dha'ashurth) or tithe from the harvests, which was received in kind by another amin (read mqaddim), also a lay (author's italics) tribesman expressly nominated by the jma'th to whom he was responsible, justifying payments and income, and guarding and administering voluntary donations.

The respect for and knowledge of these good customs and
651 primary institutions in the Rif has permitted us to utilize such
648 sentiments of solidarity on diverse occasions, without excessive shifts from times of abundance to others of restriction, hence giving them the sensation of our constant solicitude and thus coming to establish in some jma'ath and 'bureaux' (oficinas) the idea of voluntary deposits (donations), and hence again (re)awakening Custom.

(648) 12--This paragraph, as well as the preceding one with its reference to the "urban mulay", clearly indicate that Blanco fully shared the prevailing view of the protectoral authorities of both zones of Morocco regarding the administrative wisdom inherent in the separation of Town and Tribe.

871 c) Instruction: The maintenance of expenses relating to
621 education fell and fall, independently of the above, on the members of
793 the jma'th who, in turn, must provide the fqih with his meals, while his contract, as we have seen, depends, on the other hand, on religious property[14].

621 The gratuitous character of the representative jobs, such
574 as the iziddjifen, and the eternal need to be prepared adequately for
651 distinguished visitors (tribal authorities, personages of political, economic or religious significance, harka-s passing through, etc.) made it mandatory that the expenses incurred through the feeding of visitors (difa or diyafa, or, more commonly in the Rif, muna) be shared equally by the members of the jma'th or that they be levied by the
621 iziddjifen at so much per head. To this end they also used to prepare
241 reserves set aside from the harvest reaped in common from the jma'th
651 lands as of that taken in from the leasing of these same lands, funds from which were also applied or set aside for the repair of irrigation ditches or for any other communal need which the jma'th agreed had to
[194] be satisfied. Even today this custom continues, and the ziyara donations to members of holy lineages, once the harvest is in, are effected in this fashion, with the crop taken in from a plot of land held for
792 this purpose. Such a plot, in some jma'ath, is usually entrusted to a
794 fqir (member of a religious order) of the jma'th (in question), who must convoke its members to plow and harvest it. For these individuals,

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14--In our own experience, both the meals of the fqih and his annual remuneration in barley depend entirely upon the resources of the members of the jma'th concerned. No doubt, however, if his annual stipend in barley can be integrally extracted from religious land (such as habus), so much the better, and nobody is the loser.

792 who played such an important role as good and neutral men, healers and
794 harborers of (individuals in) asylum in days past of fratricidal struggles (i.e. bloodfeud), this (most curious) Berber society afforded them, in exchange for their partisan withdrawal and their other-worldliness, sufficient means for a quiet and dignified existence.

423 Today, perhaps, the only responsibilities depending on
178 the stocks such as those cited above are the well-spaced visits of such
794 individuals or of an occasional interventor; and what is left over is used to buy an animal and celebrate a communal repast which, now as then, compensates for the Rifians' enforced vegetarianism.

423 The result is that, in reality, individual and jma'th,
621 for all these matters of an economic character, complement each other
794 admirably in their rudimentary (sic) administration. The individuals voluntarily turn over rugs and lamps, and put in working time in the fields and seed; while the jma'th supplies the harvest and anything else needed, and then distributes the surplus. For this reason, visits
[574] with "meals" involved do not please the Rifians, and they are beginning to complain about them, no matter who the guest is.[15]

423 d) Communal Property: Communal lands are infinitely more
648 complicated a matter for the protectors to classify and put in order, to say nothing of the Makhzin: for the locals oppose by any and all means any clarifications on this score. They mistrust the intentions of the former, who have not yet succeeded in inspiring the confidence necessary for collaboration of this sort. How many times after revising

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15--This is eminently believable, in the hard times which prevailed in the Rif during the 1930s and 1940s.

which the Rifians are deeply attached, and their attempts to codify it, in spite of Islamic law?...We are faced with the hypothesis that in times past their conversion to Islam was not complete, a situation analogous to that prevailing in other Berber-speaking regions. Louis Milliot in 1926 pointed to the survival of Kabyle qanuns in Algeria[5], but in the Rif this is neither the only nor the principal factor, as there was no long period of peace in the Rif, and the lack of this experience gave the Spanish administration the option of recognizing an "area of custom", which in the French Zone was the main reason for the Berber Dahir of 1930.[6]

In the Rif, the main reason for the non-application of Islamic law would seem to lie not so much in the degree of Rifian Islamization but rather in the constant state of revolt of the area, which would have rendered regular and dilatory (sic!) Muslim legal procedure inefficient or inefficacious. The basic question was far more one of the impotence of the Rifians themselves in the face of this problem, rather than one of their incompetence. Under these circumstances, we may imagine that fqih-s, tulba and other religious personnel were forced, in order not to die of hunger, to limit themselves to making amulets and charms for women and to writing up and registering the decisions of the imqqranen, "the Big Ones", the ones who counted. For the same reason, shurfa and imrabdhen were unable to do anything else except resolve conflicts and dictate sentences, which were up to the parties concerned to accept or not, as they wanted. Where, then, could one have found a qadi who, conscious of his duty and a disinterested judge of Muslim law,

798
764 2) Funeral Rites Contrary to Sunna: the funeral chant invoking the name of God which is started up when the body is lifted up to be taken to the cemetery (and this is done in the Rif) is rejected as bad (sic). A man should not place himself facing Mecca during the funeral prayer (at the grave) (sic); nor should the body be oriented in this direction (sic) nor should its shroud be pierced (in the Rif, in Ibuq-quyen, a hold is pierced in the nose of the shroud), nor can a stick be nailed perpendicularly to the grave (this is done in the Rif[20]); and the catching...in the act by someone of the body being buried or of the recitation of the hizb[21] of the Koran is like lighting the three lights in agony.[22]

798
[302] 3) Deceits and Frauds in the 'Aid: men should not put henna on
[562] their hands and should not shake hands with women, as this is sinful.
[794] Getting meals in the mosque is very bad, as are petitions (of gifts)
[769] to the imam[23] after the prayer of the 'Aid; and visiting the cemetery on feast days is also bad, as these are days of happiness[23a]. (In the Rif all these practices are observed[24]).

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585 4) Weddings: It is very bad to mark the doors of the house of either the bride or the groom with blood (this is done in the Rif[25]), and so is firing rifle shots in the bride's room on the day that the marriage is consummated[26]; so is touching the bride's clothing, or helping her mount the mule which is to take her to the groom's house, or helping her alight on arrival, or mounting the same animal behind her; and equally bad is someone showing up at the moment of union of the newly married couple or staying so near to them that he can hear them talking. Also, men playing in front of women and women dancing in

695 623 participants speak, and from time to time, whoever wants to (there is no single judge, and all present have the right to question the litigants) barks out a question or a sentence at them, and another, and another, until, when the contestants get tired, fed up, angry or have no more to say, things get excited, as a result of the loaded questions and confused answers; a certainty pervades the air which further emphasizes the responsibility and even the judging members of the jma'th, for some abandon the defense of the man from their dharfiqth or liff as impossible, while others affirm their suspicions. The first judgment is not long in being pronounced, one of the most outstanding persons of the casually organized assembly (or jury) giving it as his opinion on the matter, and the rest adhering to it. In most instances, on seeing his case unanimously judged (in his disfavor), the individual responsible yields. If he does not, new people come into play and voice their opinions. If the matter is important enough to be a case which smacks of jurisprudence,[31] the meeting held the following Friday (in the mosque, prior to the noon prayer) is devoted in part to going over it again and adding up the greatest number of opinions (pro and con)--but not votes--in order to give wider publicity to the agreement and even to take it down in writing if necessary, if so stipulated. [212] [794] If there is written proof, any talib hesitatingly deciphers the documentary evidence, but the members of the jma'th do not let him take a trick (thus showing the power of the layman over the judge??) other than in a very discreet and impartial manner. Sometimes they agree to submit the matter to an arbiter outside the jma'th, for greater impartiality in the decision. At other times they decide to submit the

pick up his rifle in defense of justice (a few days of visiting, free food, participation in the sharing of the fines, and even a raid, if this be the case). In the latter instance, everyone was (translator's italics) interested and desired to see justice done (with concomitant benefits of a meal and collecting one's own share of the fine).

Rifian law, according to note 7, is definitely superior (sic) to European law, because it obliges anyone who submits to it only to accept it and to agree to its fulfillment, accepting beforehand the santions which it establishes.

It is in these qanuns that Rifians may see sharply reflected who exactly are the men of prestige in the group to which they attach themselves and even the order of preference, by means of the names which figure in them; but we must not lose sight of the fact that they are edited by tulba of childish mentality (sic), a mentality deformed by their Islamic education; and that these tulba do not even translate Berber conceptualizations into their Arabic writing, as may be observed in other qanuns, thus altering the natural order in favor of their religious inclinations.[26]

Nobody believes, then, that such individuals cited in the first place figure in the documents for reasons of religiosity, but for the convenience of the imgharen who, jealous of their prestige, would have promoted interminable altercations in order to be first, in their jealous egalitarianism, and the necessity, which they saw themselves in order to avoid it, of putting above their disputes and petty jealousies individuals of neutral appearance, such as tulba, to officiate as the pacifying presidents of their stormy council-meetings (igrawn).

671 794 212 In these childish (sic) legislators we may observe the suspicions and fears which the poor tulba plant with their confused drafts of these qanuns, drafts which they never succeed in becoming satisfied about; for they see themselves bound to the impossibility of correcting their vague and hazy language and can only modify it with addenda which for the most part only give rise to new and further confusions. But this is not the fault of the man who grasps his rifle, but rather of him who wields the pen.

We see in this clan qanun how it refuses to concern itself with matters that fall within the exclusive competence of the jma'th, which has its own independent life[50], as the final step of Berber anarchy (sic). Thus, for example, it says nothing about irrigation, orchards or fields, hospitality, education, grazing lands, collecting and gathering, etc., and neither does it enter into private rights, personal and successoral law. It limits itself, rather, to regulating the coexistence of its component jma'ths, lineages and individuals in the only places where they come together (i.e. markets).

671 183 It is also to be seen that the social or public law which this qanun represents is inspired by norms which are more elevated through the non-admission of compensation, such as blood-spilling, in cases of common prestige (murder in the market) without, at the same time, ceasing to be inspired by norms more humanitarian than the private rights admitted by vengeance and reprisal, to which the codes of social units like this one are opposed,.....

671 614 613 182 So that, while the qanuns of clans tend toward the clans' preservation, they develop solidarity, and neutralize the rivalries of

562 commented above. Two societies live together in perfect harmony among
671 the Rifians: the masculine and the feminine. To the latter, as in most modern societies, it reserves free and sure places for women to gather, the legitimacy of which is expressed in this qanun establishing sanctions against intruders, a fact which guarantees the tranquillity of both the ones and the others (i.e. of both women and men).

562 This persistent and good custom is no less faithfully observed
183 today, and within the last ten years (ca. 1930) there has been only
794 one attempt to go against it, made by a young talib of Ibuqquyen, soon
443 discovered under his disguise by the women themselves (after entering
689 the Monday Women's Market at Azghar in Aith Waryaghar), who handed him
178 over to the mkhazniya services, and from there he was sent to jail at the administration office of Izimmuren (Ibuqquyen). The women's
562 markets are still held in the same places and on the same days as they
443 were hundreds and thousands of years ago.[80] The Aith Waryaghar, very
178 attached to their traditions, reserve and guarantee for their women
183 special meeting places, a fact which speaks highly in their favor. Other tribes have now lost this custom and today there remain only the names of the places in which these women's markets were held.

671 In the qanun discussed here there can be discerned a body of doctrine, a community of ideas, an analogy of customs which is precisely what forms the so-called Berber Bloc, with needs and identical means of remedying them. The details may vary, as may the amount of
[184] the fine and its order in the drafting of the qanun.....but the fun-
(681) damentals, the acts which they considered reprehensible, those which merit punishment, did not vary, nor did the recording of the qanun and the proportion, in context, of the fines.

guidance from the Book and the various interpretations of the Book made by a body of literate scholars. But it also serves as a vehicle for the spiritual expression of the illiterate and the superstitious. The needs of the one community, though not necessarily incompatible with the other, are of a different nature. To meet the needs of the rural tribesmen, a cult of saints has long existed in Morocco. The earliest reference to this phenomenon in the Rif can be found in the work of 'Abd el-Haqq el-Badisi's Lives of the Saints of the Rif, dated 1311 and translated from Arabic to French by G. S. Colin (1926). The more formal aspects of Islam whereby a morality is derived from dialectic interpretation of Koranic scripture did not have the power of explanation among the tribesmen as mysticism. As Colin points out in his introduction to el-Badisi's work:

> Il s'agit donc, en somme, d'un effort de vulgarisation de la science religieuse et, plus spécialement, du mysticisme, dans le but de rendre ce dernier plus populaire et plus pittoresque, et de permettre par là aux ames simples d'y prendre intérêt et de s'y attacher. (Ibid.:8)

A man became a saint because of various miracles performed during his lifetime which, according to the beliefs of the tribesmen, signify that the man had a closer connection with the spiritual world. In most areas of Morocco the saint was also a sharif or descendent of the Prophet. This does not seem to be a vital criterion for sainthood in the Rif. El-Bakiri lists only one of the saints in his hagiography as being a sharif (1926:11).

The tribesmen came to the saint during his lifetime for advice in spiritual and secular affairs. According to his success

(real or putative) in such matters, his reputation expanded from a localized base to a regional and even a national one. Upon the death of a holy man a shrine would be erected to serve as a permanent place which the tribesmen could visit. To such places the Berbers come to petition for divine intermediacy. They seek remedy for ill health, barrenness, and so forth, either on their own behalf or for a friend or relative. Although pilgrimages can be made at any time, there are also various saints in the Rif that attract several thousand people on specific celebration days. These communal affairs are annual events and must be added to the schedule of pilgrimages for individualistic causes. The part of the pilgrimage which shall concern us is the economic aspects.

The expense of such a pilgrimage depends on several factors. There is always a sacrificial element but the type of animal to be killed is not specified. It is generally believed that the more costly the sacrifice the greater the baraka that the saint will pass on. Thus although chickens are often used, a lamb or goat is preferred to increase the efficacy. The sacrificial animal itself is divided three ways, with the pilgrimage party receiving a third which is consumed on the site. Another third goes to the moqaddem who is in charge of maintaining the shrine, and the final third goes to the poor who live in the vicinity of the tomb.

As an example of the costs involved in even a short pilgrimage to a local shrine, we might examine the pilgrimage of a group of eight women and four men who were traveling to the

788 cemetery of Sidi Malik in the community of Had Rusdi in the tribe
778 of Iboyyis in the summer of 1966. They had come from the frac-
435 tion of Arba Taurirt in the Beni Wariyaghar. At least one of the
[755] pilgrims was ill, presumably suffering from the effects of the
[754] evil eye or a djnoun, one of the most prevalent causes for visit-
[494] ing a holy place. The group had left Arba on the seven o'clock
[782] bus for Alhucemas where they had taken another bus to Had Rusdi,
where they spent the night. Four chickens were brought and killed
at the tomb. The next day they returned to Arba by way of
Alhucemas. The cost of the journey itself can be calculated
fairly closely. Each person had to pay 5 dirhams to go from
Arba to Alhucemas and an additional 3 dirhams to go from Alhucemas
to Had. There was an expense of 8 dirhams to make the trip and
another 8 to return, or 16 dirhams ($3.20) for each person. The
chickens can roughly be priced at 10 dirhams apiece, or having a
cash value of $8.00. The total expense for the group was at
least $45, a not inconsiderable outlay of cash and goods, espe-
cially if we recall Waterson's per capita output of the fellah
family is $60. If this were a mere isolated instance such expense
would be negligible in terms of the entire society. The pilgrim-
age is, however, part of the texture of Rif society and such
instances form the pattern rather than the exception.

792 Some of the more ambitious holy men and their followers
794 have set up rather unique firms, the religious brotherhood, a
575 form of voluntary association of much prominence in north Africa.
(A detailed account of one such order is given by Evans-Pritchard,

6 Joseph E-S (1965-1966) 1975 MX3 Rif MX3

792 1949.) Not all holy men have formed brotherhoods although all
794 founders of brotherhoods are regarded as holy men, the font of
575 the association being the baraka possessed by its initiator.
[778] These brotherhoods generally emanated from some charismatic
[554] leader whose own brand of revelation attracted local adherents.

792 Once the spiritual and magical qualities of the saint
794 have been proven, his brotherhood grows. This, of course, tends
776 to be circular since growing membership validifies the founder's
575 abilities. New lodges or zawiya are founded, to be administered by the holy man's more capable and loyal disciples. As the cult grows the leader, as a result of his personal mediations with Allah, pronounces a new set of spiritual techniques and strictures in addition to the usual ones followed by all adherents to Islam. A new set of practices to attain communion with God [779] in the form of special uses of the rosaries, scarification, physical contortions and manner of praying may be introduced along with taboos on smoking, dancing or drinking coffee.

792 These religious associations are for the most part volun-
794 tary although there tends to be a familial association whereby a
575 son belongs to the same lodge his father belonged to. Although they tend to be highly political there has been, to the best of my knowledge, no correlation between a particular brotherhood and a particular tribe. Perhaps the diversity of membership in competing brotherhoods reflects the fragmentation of loyalty within the tribes and fractions. At the turn of the century the Darkawiya cult was dominant in the Rif. A former member of this

792 brotherhood, Shaikh Ahmad al-'Alawi (1869-1934) broke off from
794 the organization to form his own association which is now the
575 largest in the Rif. According to informant estimate, this brotherhood holds about 50% of those Berbers in the Rif who belong to brotherhoods. Its annual meeting which I attended in 1965 consisted of several thousand brothers from all parts of the Rif and from neighboring Algeria where the mother lodge is located.

792 The importance of these fraternal orders declined to a
794 certain extent during the struggle for Moroccan independence
575 because of their anti-nationalistic behavior. When they are
178 criticized in the Rif it is not on theological grounds but political. The brotherhoods have been accused of accepting [662] bribes in order to influence their membership on how to vote in local elections and to act as spies for the government. Their cogency has also been reduced by the increase in secular as opposed to Koranic education. Nonetheless, they have a powerful residual following, as attested by the vehemency with which they are attacked.

792 The fraternity supports itself on the annual contributions
794 in kind extracted as membership fees from its adherents as well
575 as the more or less regular visits to the key shrines and lodges [124] where, again, donations are expected. The size of this contribution is most difficult to estimate, and my inquiries of lodge officials met with only our mutual exasperation. The amount seems to vary with the avarice of the local lodge, where 10% of

792 794 575 [124] annual income may be claimed. Informants agreed that a figure of 5% of annual income might not be an inaccurate sum for a member to donate to his zariwya.

788 484 [179] Aside from these rather special claims on one's sum of wealth are the regular demands made by one's being a member of the Islamic community. Perhaps the most difficult of these obligations for the Riffian is the hadj or pilgrimage to Hijaz, Mecca, the birthplace of Mohammed, and to Medina where he died. [805] The hadj itself takes place between the seventh and the thirteenth of the twelfth month of the Muslim calendar, the Dhu 'l-Hijja. While in former days men traveled in caravans or [178] [509] by boat, the most popular form of locomotion today is Air Maroc which offers special rates during the period of the pilgrimage. Although the number of Riffians making the trip is, in any one year, not proportionately large, it is a rather significant group. [435] The investment is large, ranging from 3,000 to 6,000 dirhams, depending on the means of transportation and the time spent in [671] getting there and back. If one has a family, which is generally the case, one must (by law) leave behind enough money to provide for their expenses while the pilgrim is away. Only the older, [554] wealthier (and as a consequence most respected) Berbers can become al-Hadj, the honorific title bestowed on those who have 788 completed the journey to Mecca. The trip is not, however, com- 484 pletely voluntary. If a man is prominent and in the minds of 626 the populace of the community well-off, there is a good deal of pressure placed on him, in the form of ridicule, gossip and general public disapproval, if he begs off the pilgrimage.

796 Since traveling has been so severely restricted by limitations
785 of energy, the end of Ramadan finds friends and relatives paying
[574] numerous visits to one another. If the family can afford it, it
[432] is customary to buy new clothes at this time. The men of the
[431] community all retire in the morning to the village mosque where
[794] they are expected to give small gifts of cash or in kind. While it is not obligatory, the men of the mosque often take up subscription in order to purchase and distribute amongst themselves a bull.

796 The remainder of the cycle of festivals are of secondary importance in terms of economic activity. There are small celebrations for the beginning of the Muslim year, 'Ashura, and on the 27th day of the seventh month (Rajab) commemorating the ascension of Mohammed to the ultimate heaven. On the 12th day of the third month, the anniversary of the birth of the Prophet is celebrated. Coon (1931:152) states that on this day the men
[782] of each community purchase a bull which they sacrifice and dis-
[014] tribute among themselves. Unfortunately, I neglected to corroborate this point while in the field.

346 Before turning from religious activities to magical prac-
794 tices, I wish to discuss the maintenance of the local community mosque. Within each tribal section or cluster of villages there is a mosque which the men of the community attend on Fridays and on important religious occasions. The rural mosque looks more or less like an ordinary Riffian home of residence built of mud bricks with an open courtyard. The mosques have no minarets.

346 794 The religious function of the mosque is by no means its most important. It also serves as the location for the Koranic school which as recently as ten years ago was the only sort of education provided for the children of the fellah. In areas where population density is high, the government has set up secular schools (658) (178) which all but replace the Koranic education. The mosque is also used as the place for public assembly of the community.

The mosque is built and kept in repair by the men of the community either through their own labor or through subscription to hire a professional master builder. The property belongs to 346 794 the mosque, generally from specific inheritance provisions. Many 423 larger property owners wishing to pave their way to paradise by (425) some act on earth will donate property to religious organizations. (782) Crops are grown on this bequested territory which serve to meet (241) some of the expenses of the religious man in charge of the mosque.

793 The mosque is presided over by a fqih, a learned man who (212) has had Koranic education and knows how to read and write Arabic. (794) He delivers the weekly sermon and provides lessons to the youth 793 in Koranic education. It is the obligation of every married man 794 within the area served by the mosque to make an annual donation 465 to the mosque to provide for the fqih. The amount, while generally the same for all family heads, is not permanently fixed and can be adjusted according to how good or bad the crop yield was from the preceding year. In the year I was present the community assembly assessed a total of 25 kilos of barley to each man. The fqih also receives weekly donations of eggs from his

793 794 465 students, as well as the revenue that accrues from the property owned by the mosque. He also receives cash or kind for his services as the magical advisor for the community, a service which I shall discuss below.

754 789 In a land in which there is so much witchcraft, it is not surprising to find a great deal of ritual being used to evoke charms and spells. As Westermarck demonstrated in innumerable works, magic permeates almost all social behavior in 791 754 Morocco. There are two types of magical specialists in Rif [793] [799] society. One is the fqih who has magical powers because of his knowledge of the Koran and the belief that magical powers are embodied in the Book. The other specialists are the female 754 791 witches whose magic is supposed to derive from their lore passed 562 on from mother to daughter. Not all women are regarded as witches although the female quality is believed to have magical potency. [888] This potency is thought to increase with age and old women are universally treated with respect, partially out of fear of their magical powers. Men of an elderly age are not so regarded.

754 791 789 793 The two classes of sorcerer use different magical techniques. The fqih disperses charms and spells by writing passages from the Koran on a piece of paper which thus has magical qualities. The witches have a more varied inventory consisting of herbs and roots (poisonous or otherwise), stones, pieces of wood [443] from holy trees, small dead animals and the like. The services of both are called upon often and it is not uncommon to have witches set up booths in the open weekly market to hawk their

/293 cont./

634 amghars covered with wounds command each "tarfiqt." Incapa-
631 ble of being on good terms with one another, the most that they
614 can do is to succeed in taking the pledge, in the name of their
578 brothers, to /294/ abstain from killing and stealing for a few weeks. Again, the "agrao" -- the meeting of all the armed warriors -- which accompanies the conferences of the amghars, is often terminated by a general melee. No chief can emerge from this anarchy.

792 In a great part of the Jbel, more to the West, where these
578 clan quarrels are less frequent, so that the inhabitants can live side by side and form veritable villages, religious leaders appear, shorfa /shurfa/ or marabouts, often of dubious origin. They live
[621] apart from the common people in separate hamlets; a little less
[465] ignorant than the masses that they dominate, less poor because
[794] they receive the tithe that these tribes willingly give them, they form a little natural aristocracy whose trade is to arbitrate con-
[648] flicts. At the service of the Makhzen /makhzan/ when the Sultan is powerful, they play the role of intermediaries between these populations and the caliphates and the pashas. But these marabouts are particularly well off in times of "siba"; then they know how to prevent private wars from breaking out and have the art of letting quarrels begin so as to be able to settle them. One sees them, during the periods when they act freely, found innumerable branches in the valleys that surround the large zaouia /zawia, zawiyah/ built near the tomb of their ancestor, and throwing over all the valleys of the high mountains a veritable network in which
792 the tribes are enclosed. Such in our day is the powerful organization of the Khemalcha marabouts, who exploit the confederation of the Senhaja of Srair; more to the West, it is the Oulad el Beqqal, less centralized and whose authority has clearly fallen, the marabouts affiliated with the brotherhoods of the Derqawa among the Beni Zerwal, the shorfas /shurfas/ of Wezzan with their zaouias of Snada, among the Beni Itteft, of Ichouken among the Ghomara; finally, on the holy mountain of the Jbel ʿAlam, the innumerable Idrisiyn shorfas, the most famous of whom in recent years was Moulay Ahmed Er Raisouli.